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Flashback



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FLASHBACK

Journal of the Washington County Historical Society
Preserving the Past for the Future

Volume 64

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On the cover: A painting, "Wild Boar Hunt," by the Flemish painter Frans Snyders. The ferocity of the wild boar, what came to be known as the feral razorback of the woods and swamps of the American South. The razorback's place in the culture and history of Arkansas is weighed starting on Page 27.

FLASHBACK

Journal of the University of Arkansas Libraries
Volume 1, Number 1, Spring 2014

The University of Arkansas Libraries is pleased to announce the launch of FLASHBACK, a new journal dedicated to the history and development of the library profession. This journal will provide a platform for scholars, librarians, and students to share their research, experiences, and insights into the past and present of libraries. The first issue, Volume 1, Number 1, Spring 2014, features a variety of articles that explore the evolution of libraries from ancient times to the modern digital age. The journal is published quarterly and is available both in print and online. For more information about FLASHBACK, please visit our website at <http://www.ualib.org/flashback>.

J. William Fulbright and the Rhetorical Dimensions of His 1942 Congressional Campaign

Editor's Note: This article was the runner-up for the 2013 Lemke Prize for the best submitted article about a facet of Washington County. Yekaterina Syrtsova is a graduate student in the Department of Communications at the University of Arkansas.

By Yekaterina Syrtsova

During the last 85 years, only one resident of Washington County has been elected to the United States House of Representatives. James William Fulbright of Fayetteville was elected to a single term in the U.S. House in 1942, the Congressional campaign that marked the start of his political career and led him to become the longest-serving chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and one of the most influential figures in the United States foreign policy.

Considering the demographics of the 10-county Congressional district and Fulbright's quite different educational and economic background, his first campaign presented a unique challenge to identify with the voters and prevail in the election. It is also worth attention to search for early indications of Fulbright's future issues and influence during his subsequent 30-year career in the United States Senate.

A native of the Ozarks, Fulbright gained experience in education and business before deciding to enter politics. He was a University of Arkansas alumnus, a former Razorback football star, and a Rhodes scholar at Oxford. Upon his return from Eu-

rope, Fulbright graduated from George Washington University Law School and served in the antitrust division of the U.S. Justice Department. After his father's death he returned to Arkansas to help manage the Fulbright family's various enterprises and teach at the University of Arkansas School of Law.

When University of Arkansas president John C. Futrall died in a car accident in 1939, the 34-year-old Fulbright was appointed as Futrall's successor. However, in 1941, the newly elected Governor Homer M. Adkins publicly fired Fulbright, amid protest from students and alumni.¹ Adkins was a longtime foe of the Fulbright family and a frequent target of Roberta Fulbright's caustic remarks in the family-owned newspaper the *Northwest Arkansas Times*. Fulbright was considering entering the Army Air Corps, when his former student Clyde Ellis, a senatorial candidate, suggested that Fulbright campaign for the Congressional seat that Ellis was vacating. After consulting with his wife Betty and mother Roberta, Fulbright decided to run for Congress.²

While the biographic literature on Fulbright's life and political career is abundant in quantity and does make a significant contribution to our knowledge about Fulbright, little attention has been paid to in-depth research of Fulbright's 1942 Congressional campaign.

Fulbright: A Biography by Randall Bennett Woods is one of the most comprehensive biographic accounts of Fulbright's life, documenting his career from the reception of the Rhodes scholarship to Oxford to the senator's death in 1995. One of the chapters details Fulbright's debut in politics – an invitation by the Democratic State Committee of Arkansas to run for Congress and the subsequent 1942 campaign for the House of Representatives. Woods describes the 1942 campaign as Fulbright's attempt to get even with Governor Adkins. Woods provides a campaign timeline and discusses involvement of the Fulbright family in the race.

Another biographic source is *Fulbright: The Dissenter* by Haynes Johnson and Bernard Gwertzman, an account of Fulbright's career up to early 1966. The authors recount Fulbright's

first campaign for Congress: the different strategies Fulbright used and difficulties he encountered on the campaign trail. In addition, Johnson and Gwertzman briefly address some of the issues Fulbright covered in his political speeches.

Three other biographies, hero-worshipping Senator Fulbright: *Portrait of a Public Philosopher* by Tristram Coffin, voluminous *J. William Fulbright and His Time* by Lee Riley Powell, and informal *A Fulbright Chronicle* written by Fulbright's nephew Allan Gilbert all briefly mention the 1942 campaign, presenting Ful-



Courtesy of the Special Collections of University Libraries.

James William Fulbright

bright as a political novice with no experience in campaigning and discussing the Fulbright family's role in the campaign.

Karl E. Meyer's *Fulbright of Arkansas*, the earliest book about Fulbright with a foreword by Walter Lippmann, has a short biographical introduction about Fulbright followed by a collection of his most notable speeches given on the Senate floor and elsewhere.

The Fulbright premise: Senator J. William Fulbright's views on presidential power, written by Naomi B. Lynn and Arthur F. McClure mainly covers Fulbright's time as the chairman of the

Senate Foreign Relations Committee from 1959 until 1974.

None of these books adequately address Fulbright's 1942 Congressional campaign from a communication perspective that would prove essential to his election. This essay analyzes the campaign in regard to campaign strategies and tactics used and examines the rhetorical dimensions of Fulbright's campaign, including his political platform and how it fit with Arkansas and U.S. political, economic, and social realities at the time. Specific attention will be given to how Fulbright communicated his political platform to the voters through informal appearances, political speeches, and campaign ads in the local press.

The analysis is based on three major sources: the primary sources obtained in correspondence, memoranda, and the large collection of documents in the James William Fulbright Papers located in the University of Arkansas Special Collections, campaign ads published in the Arkansas newspapers in 1942, and oral history interviews and correspondence with Fulbright's former staff members.

Candidacy Announcements

On April 11, 1942, the *Northwest Arkansas Times* reported that two prominent Northwest Arkansas men announced their candidacies for Congress. Karl Greenhaw, a former Harrison attorney, currently serving a term in the Arkansas Supreme Court in Little Rock, and J.W. Fulbright, a Fayetteville businessman, a lawyer, and University of Arkansas president for two years.³ When Fulbright told his childhood friend, Buck Lewis, that he was running for the Congress, Buck replied: "Hell, I think you're crazy, Bill. You'll never win."⁴

J.W. Fulbright: The Underdog

Indeed, Fulbright did not have any knowledge about or experience in campaigning.⁵ But, as a native of the Ozarks, he understood the dire conditions Arkansans were faced with after the Great Depression and amid the raging World War II. In his cam-



Courtesy of the Special Collections of University of Arkansas Libraries.
Picture Collection Item OV2-53

James William Fulbright, wearing a plaid shirt, crosses East Avenue at its intersection with Center Street on the Fayetteville Square in 1955.

paign under the slogan of “A platform to: Fight by, make peace, and serve the district” Fulbright set out themes that would later recur throughout his whole career.

He called for winning the war through full cooperation with the heads of Army, Navy, and Air Forces and placing their needs and requirements above all other matters before Congress. The eruption of war overseas prompted the same mixed responses and opinions in Arkansas, as it did throughout the whole U.S. nation. The non-interventionist America First Committee had vocal support in Arkansas at first. But after Pearl Harbor, the Arkansas leaders rallied around the Democratic President Franklin D. Roosevelt, who called for cooperation with the besieged



James William Fulbright with wife, Betty, and daughters Betsey and Roberta



Courtesy of the Special Collections, University of Arkansas Libraries, Walter J. Lemke Papers (MC L541)
at Rabbit's Foot Lodge, Springdale, Arkansas, about 1940.

Allies. Newspapers throughout Arkansas praised the 1941 Lend-Lease Act that allowed war-material shipments to Britain, China, USSR, and other Allies.⁶

Fulbright shared the cooperation sentiment and placed the highest priority on winning the war. He called for maintaining a strong Army after the war, so that America's enemies will never again threaten America. Fulbright also envisioned creation of an international organization that would ensure world peace.⁷ He would remain an ardent internationalist throughout his whole career, opposing the Vietnam War and the politics of McCarthyism and introducing legislation that helped pave the way to the establishment of the United Nations.

A Rhodes scholar and an educator himself, Fulbright realized the importance of education and called for federal aid for public schools and advocated for growth of the University of Arkansas in his political platform.⁸ In his earlier speech delivered at the Fort Smith Civic Club on December 10, 1939, only weeks after becoming president of the University of Arkansas, Fulbright said:

Your support of the University indicates that your people are aware of the advantages of a strong university. Too many of our older citizens have adopted the attitude that nothing can be done about politics. This defeatist view is, in my opinion, the greatest single threat to the preservation of our democratic form of government... I believe that by the proper emphasis on the right subjects the universities, in the course of time, can make the students realize the importance of a good government, can teach them that politics can be the most honorable of all professions, and can induce the best of them to enter political life as a career. ... With our government in the hands of our best citizens, the arts, sciences, businesses, and religion will inevitable flourish.⁹

Later, in 1945 Fulbright proposed a bill to use the proceeds from selling surplus U.S. government war property to fund an international educational exchange between the U.S. and foreign countries. After President Harry S. Truman signed the bill in 1946, the Congress established the Fulbright program, the largest educational exchange program between foreign and U.S. scholars to study, teach and conduct research in the United States and abroad.¹⁰

Arkansas was a poor state. Roosevelt signed the Rural Electrification Act in 1935, which provided federal loans for electrification of the rural areas and ultimately brought the industrial revolution to the countryside with the opportunities to raise chickens in heated incubators and brooders.¹¹ After signing the REA, Roosevelt also became interested in damming Arkansas rivers to produce hydroelectric power for the farmers and promote flood prevention, irrigation, reclamation, and reforestation.¹² Consenting to Roosevelt's efforts, Fulbright pledged to support the local farmers in Arkansas with the electrification of farms, the prevention of floods, the conservation of soil, and the development of resources by new industries, as well as equitable treatment in the matter of federal assistance to Arkansas senior and underprivileged citizens.¹³

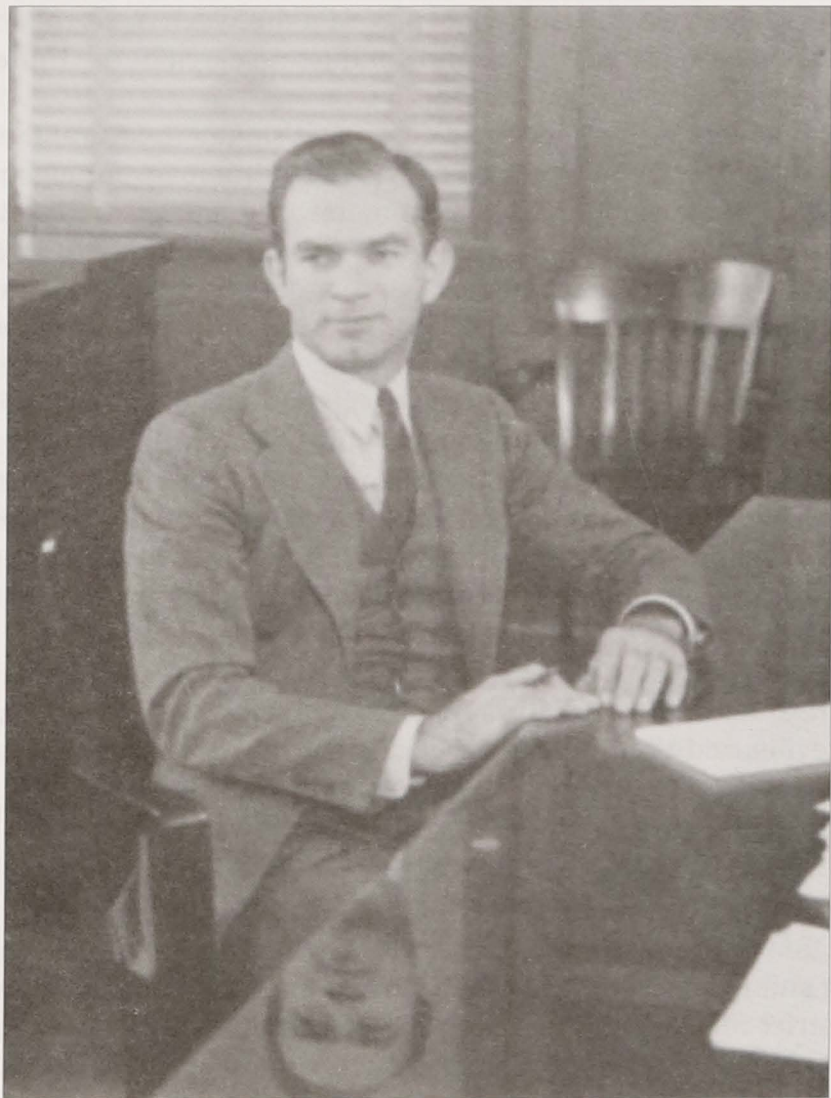
Fulbright faced two candidates in the Democratic primary: Karl Greenhaw, an Adkins supporter and fellow resident of Fayetteville, and Virgil Willis, a World War I veteran from Harrison.

Karl Greenhaw: The Favorite

Governor Adkins' protégé, Karl Greenhaw, had strong ties to the 3rd Congressional District. Originally from Marshall, he was a State Supreme Court justice with reputation of "a spellbinding stump speaker."¹⁴ He practiced law in the 3rd Congressional District for 25 years and was known to voters. Greenhaw was also active in civil affairs, being a member of the Lions Club, past president of the Washington County Bar Association and the Fayetteville Chamber of Commerce.¹⁵

Unlike Fulbright, Greenhaw had some experience in politi-

cal campaigning, having run unsuccessfully against C.A. Fuller of Eureka Springs and losing by a narrow margin in the 1928 Congressional campaign.¹⁶ According to Fulbright's political ad



Courtesy of the Arkansas Razorback

James William Fulbright, as president of the university in 1941.

printed in Harrison's *Boone County Headlight* on July 23, 1942, Greenhaw also participated in another Congressional campaign in 1926, but tried to conceal this fact from the public in the 1942 campaign.¹⁷

The main points of Greenhaw's political platform were in line with those stated by Fulbright. Greenhaw called for winning the war and forming an international organization to preserve peace after World War II with power to settle controversies between nations. He also advocated for federal aid for education and equal education advantages in every state. Federal support of agriculture, electrification, flood control, and soil preservation were all themes of Greenhaw's political platform.¹⁸

Greenhaw also called for industrial developments in the state. In 1940, the per capita income in Arkansas was \$250, while the per capita state spending was the lowest of all states and the per capita debt the highest.¹⁹ Capitalists from the North owned most of the businesses, which was common to many Southern states during the Reconstruction era that followed the Civil War. There was virtually no industry in the area, as most of the sawmills shut down during the Depression.²⁰ Lastly, Greenhaw advocated for the economy in the government and avoiding unnecessary tax burdens.²¹

Virgil Willis: Not a "Me Too" Candidate²²

A 43-year-old lawyer from Harrison named Virgil Willis was the third candidate in the campaign. After enlisting in the Army in 1918, Willis served overseas for 18 months, was twice wounded and cited for bravery and gallantry in action by prominent General Charles Pelot Summerall.

After discharge from the Army, Willis graduated from the Oklahoma University School of Law in 1922 and returned to his home county to practice law. Willis was also one of the Arkansas Presidential Electors in 1940-1941 and attended President Roosevelt's inaugural in 1941. A past member of the State Central Committee, past president of the Harrison Lions Club, director of Harrison Chamber of Commerce, member of State Forestry

Committee, Willis was active in civil affairs.²³

In his formal statement to the citizens of the 3rd Congressional District, Willis addressed such challenges to the U.S. in the reconstruction days as servicing the war debt and preventing inflation, as well as possible reoccurrence of the Depression days of 1929. In his rhetoric he appealed "to making a democracy work" by means of capitalist private entrepreneurship, highway development, reorganization of the railroad system, and expansion of the social service program (better nutrition, public health, education and social security), and rural development program (electrification, rural housing, soil conservation, flood control, reforestation, and irrigation).

Willis also addressed the "Good Neighbor Policy," stressing the importance of protection of South American countries from anyone seeking to destroy democratic governments there. Like other candidates, Willis supported the development of the agricultural industry. He called for winning the war and "keeping it won, with armed power strong enough to keep war-loving nations from ever blasting at democracy again."²⁴

Campaign of Trial and Error

Since Fulbright did not have any experience in political campaigning, the whole campaign was "very much a matter of trial and error."²⁵ The main challenge for him was to get to know his district because Fulbright did not even know the names of all Northwest Arkansas counties and had never been to six of them.²⁶ Another challenge lied in the fact that Fulbright's opponent Greenhaw, was known across the 3rd District. Even though Fulbright's name was known to students and alumni of the University of Arkansas, who sympathized with the sacked ex-president, the 3rd District electorate was comprised mainly of farmers who never heard about Fulbright.²⁷ And so, the real challenge for Fulbright was to win the hearts of the ordinary people. Fulbright was the campaign's underdog.

After filing the Corrupt Practice Pledge on April 22, Fulbright set out in an old Ford to drive around the district, which in those

days was mostly dirt roads. At some point of time Fulbright's campaign staff put a sign on the top of the car that said "Fulbright for Congress." He tried to visit every county and every town in the district. Fulbright would go to the center of town and walk around meeting people, shaking hands, introducing himself, and telling them that he was running for Congress.²⁸

Fulbright started off with giving speeches. However, after making an unsuccessful speech to an audience of one man in Rogers, Fulbright changed his tactics to making eight to ten informal appearances in the form of question-and-answer sessions in small towns.²⁹ In larger towns he would still do speeches written by his speechwriters Doug Smith and Jerry Neil, both journalists, as well as pay a visit to the county judge and the sheriff in an effort to "curry favor with the power structure as well as the common man."³⁰ Clyde Ellis supplied Fulbright with the lists of all the important people in the Ozark community.

In the beginning of his campaign, Fulbright also sent out telegrams to political leaders throughout the district soliciting support.³¹ Ironically, he sent one such telegram to his opponent Karl Greenhaw and got an ice-cold reply:

Your telegram just received. Prior to receiving it and after learning this morning that congressman Ellis is a candidate for the Senate I told numerous people here and citizens in Washington county by telephone that [I would be] a candidate for Congress. I am a candidate for Congress and surprised and regret to learn that you expect to announce for office.³²

Correspondence between Willis and Fulbright was much more cordial. Willis wrote to Fulbright on May 5: "I feel our acquaintance will ripen into an ever-lasting friendship because I believe that the coming campaign will be conducted in such a way that we will not misunderstand each other. I will be glad to have you come see me when you are in my County."³³

Fulbright also distributed letters soliciting support to alumni

groups of the University of Arkansas, district school teachers and school directors, stressing his interest in promotion of education in the district; to county agents and democratic committeemen, emphasizing the fact that Fulbright had many friends in senior public service positions in Washington, which will "be of great help in getting things done for you and for this District," and many other groups and general voters.³⁴ In his campaign ads in the *Northwest Arkansas Times*, the *Boone County Headlight*, and *Journal Advance* Fulbright would also tailor his messages to various audiences, portraying himself at times as a lawyer, educator, businessman, or a simple Ozark farmer.

The "Fulbright for Congress" headquarters were located in an upstairs office of the Crescent Drug building owned by the Fulbright family. His staff mainly included Fulbright's former students, faculty and associates from his time as the university president in addition to friends and a few recruits from the ice company and the *Northwest Arkansas Times* newspaper. Many of these people sympathized with him after Fulbright got sacked by Adkins and volunteered to serve on the campaign.³⁵

John H. Yingling and John Erickson were two of the University of Arkansas students who were very active in the 1942 campaign.³⁶ John Erickson was a native of Rogers. His first experience in politics and public service began when he was hired as a secretary to the late Congressman Clyde Ellis, while still being a student at the University of Arkansas. When John McCellan defeated Ellis in the senatorial race, Erickson became Fulbright's secretary, and remained a member of Fulbright's staff for more than two decades. Two years later, John Erickson later engineered Fulbright's 1944 Senate race against Adkins, which to Fulbright was "the only really bitter race that he ever had."³⁷ Unfortunately, none of the staff members who served with Fulbright on the 1942 campaign could be interviewed, as they are all deceased. To the author's knowledge, there was no oral history recorded with the staff members that is available to public access.

The real challenge for Fulbright and his committee was to

win the hearts of the ordinary farmers. His main tactic was to give an impression that he wasn't different from the voters. Fulbright launched a campaign newspaper called the Victory News. Printed in the *Northwest Arkansas Times*' printing plant and distributed to every box holder in the district, the newspaper portrayed Fulbright and his wife as ordinary people in their Rabbit's Foot Lodge, elaborated on his campaign promises, and contained jokes and housekeeping recommendations.³⁸

Newspaper Wars: Fulbright vs. Greenhaw

While Fulbright toured the district inside out, Greenhaw stayed in Little Rock because the Arkansas Supreme Court was in session at that time. Greenhaw displayed the image of confidence throughout the whole campaign.³⁹ His good friend and political benefactor, Governor Homer Adkins, backed him. In fact, Adkins disliked the whole Fulbright family in general and J. William Fulbright in particular so much, that he once told the members of the State Welfare Commission "to do all you can to beat Fulbright. It would be the most humiliating thing that ever happened to me if he should be elected."⁴⁰ Fulbright was everything that the governor was not: highly educated, cosmopolitan, and well-connected.⁴¹

Until the last days of the race Greenhaw campaigned out of Little Rock through newspapers and portrayed Fulbright as "a man out of touch with the people, as an overeducated child of privilege who had been tainted by European society, and as a gentleman farmer who knew nothing of cattle and hogs except through a balance sheet."⁴² J. William Fulbright was from an affluent family who owned a variety of retail, wholesale, and manufacturing businesses in Arkansas. In addition, he was a well-educated lawyer who traveled to Europe on the prestigious Rhodes scholarship. Fulbright was a perfect target for Greenhaw's rhetoric. In fact, Fulbright would face similar accusations in his senatorial campaigns later. However, Fulbright promptly responded to such accusation by portraying Greenhaw as "a big corporation lawyer," who served the interests of those in power

in Arkansas, in his political ads printed in the *Northwest Arkansas Times* and in the *Victory News*.⁴³

Much of the campaigning on both sides was devoted to opponents' back-and-forth attempts to unmask the "dark sides" of one another. Fulbright described Greenhaw and Adkins as "unscrupulous, unprincipled machine politicians" in his political ads.⁴⁴ He refuted Greenhaw's allegations of Fulbright's wealth as his key success factor as "willful, deliberate falsehoods" and Greenhaw's campaign "a vicious, under-handed whispering campaign."⁴⁵

Fulbright often mentioned Greenhaw's failed attempts to win the race in his 1928 campaign and another defeat in 1926 that Greenhaw allegedly tried to conceal.⁴⁶ But, most importantly, Fulbright in his accusatory rhetoric claimed that Greenhaw's political platform built on the messages about education, old age benefits, agriculture, or the small businessman was just a publicity tool. Fulbright claimed that Greenhaw never displayed interest in these things in his previous races and claimed that there was no evidence that Greenhaw ever did anything to help resolve these issues throughout his whole career.⁴⁷

Willis refrained from newspaper wars between Greenhaw and Fulbright and campaigned through political ads in the *Boone County Headlight*, a newspaper based in his native Harrison. Willis addressed the nitpicking by his opponents only several times in his campaign ad: "Fulbright says Greenhaw shouldn't go to Congress. Greenhaw says Fulbright shouldn't go to Congress. All over the District they've decided Willis is the man for Congress."⁴⁸

Adkins was almost openly on the Greenhaw's side. Posters announcing Fulbright's scheduled appearances were taken down on Adkins' orders.⁴⁹ Allan Gilbert, Fulbright's nephew working on the campaign, put up the Fulbright banners around district, especially in the Benton County. And then Fulbright went up there to some kind of event only to find out the banners were taken down by the state Highway Department per Adkins' orders.⁵⁰ Adkins disliked the Fulbrights so much because Ro-

berta Fulbright, Bill's mother, often criticized Adkins in her column "As I See It" in the *Northwest Arkansas Times*. She was also a friend with Carl Bailey, Adkins' former campaign opponent and his personal *bête noire*.

Roberta Fulbright remained quiet in her newspaper column "As I See It" throughout the whole campaign. Review of the *Northwest Arkansas Times* newspaper microfilm archives shows that the paper reported equally on both candidates. Fulbright's name was only mentioned occasionally in small articles reporting on campaign endorsements, as well as his speaking appearances with headlines such as "Fulbright Warns Against Withdrawing After World War II."⁵¹

Both his mother Roberta and wife Betty supported Fulbright during the campaign even though Fulbright was initially skeptical about the idea of running for public office. Betty Fulbright was persuasive and supportive throughout the whole campaign. She was a good campaigner and she was very hardworking. Betty would sometimes push Fulbright, "and now you have to go ahead and go down to the end of the street, you know." Also, she was also very protective of him.⁵² The whole campaign cost Bill, Roberta and Betty a total of \$10,000, and Fulbright would later always describe it as "a family matter."⁵³

During the last three weeks of the campaign Fulbright changed his strategy from making informal appearances to delivering formal speeches, and that was the hardest part for him in the beginning.⁵⁴ Fulbright would later say:

This speaking – good Lord! The first speech or two I made – it was just awful agony. The embarrassment of it! One of those I remember particularly was out in Elkins, a small town ten miles from Fayetteville. It was about eleven o'clock in the morning, and you have to start somewhere, you know. Had a little loudspeaker and went down on the corner and there wasn't anybody around. I mean there were a couple across the street, and two or three sitting down there, but you

couldn't tell whether they were really there to listen or not. They were just around. There wasn't anybody there. And you get up and talk. You know, you feel like such an ass.⁵⁵

By July 25, just three days before the primary, both Fulbright and Greenhaw each had given about 45 speeches. Fulbright in his speeches appealed to American democracy, fundamental equality of men, and preservation of world peace.⁵⁶ While talking about rationing and price controls, REA farm labor, education, and winning the war, he still attempted to look informal and conversational, striking a casual pose, hands in pockets, tie loosened.⁵⁷

A few days before the primary both candidates each gave their last 30 min speeches on the west side of the Fayetteville square that was roped off for the occasion.⁵⁸ Now it was time to vote.

Democratic Primary and Runoff Elections

Fulbright polled 7,428 votes to Greenhaw's 6,053 and Virgil Willis' 3,876 in the Democratic primary on July 28. Willis had a strong home vote in the Boone County, but did not poll enough votes. He quit the race, not endorsing any of the candidates.⁵⁹

In the last two weeks of the campaign before the runoff primary the newspaper wars between the two candidates intensified. Fulbright now stressed his margin of votes in the Democratic primary and gave a long radio address refuting Greenhaw's various accusations.⁶⁰

Two weeks later Fulbright defeated Greenhaw with a four-thousand-vote superiority, including most of the Boone County's votes. This was the largest margin in the 3rd Congressional District in 30 years.⁶¹ The general election was a formality.⁶²

On the morning of August 12, Greenhaw sent a telegram to Fulbright congratulating him upon his nomination by the Democrats.⁶³ The *Northwest Arkansas Times* published the following address by Greenhaw on the same day:

The election returns show that Mr. Fulbright has been nominated for congress from the district. I have congratulated him and extended my best wishes for a successful career in congress. Any dissention or bitterness which may have been engendered during the campaign should now be forgotten. In this great crisis through which our country is passing it should be the desire and purpose of everyone to stand solidly behind our president and congress, who are shouldering the gravest responsibilities in our nation's history. I urge my friends to give Mr. Fulbright their full cooperation in crucial days that he spend.⁶⁴

Campaign of Personalities, Not Principles

Even though Fulbright was an underdog in his candidacy for Congress in 1942 against the campaign's favorite Justice Greenhaw, there were several factors that contributed to his success. First, his firing from University of Arkansas by Adkins created a lot of publicity and sympathy for Fulbright. His name was also known among alumni and Razorback fans around the district due to the fact that Fulbright was a Razorback football star and a recipient of a prestigious Rhodes scholarship.

But, Fulbright's voters were not all well-educated people. Arkansas in the 1940s was a rural and economically depressed state. His main challenge in the 1942 campaign was to win the hearts and minds of simple farmers. Those farmers were not interested in the "big" issues or broad principles of government. And the candidates' platforms all spoke to the same issues dictated by the difficult realities of the post-Depression era and the second World War occurring overseas. People were more interested in personalities than in principles.⁶⁵

While Greenhaw campaigned mostly out of Little Rock, Fulbright tirelessly toured all ten counties of the 3rd Congressional District, meeting people, shaking hands and telling them he was running for Congress.⁶⁶ His campaign was well-organized, especially for standards of 1942 with no Internet or television yet.⁶⁷

Throughout all his public appearances Fulbright projected an image of a simple, approachable and easy-to-relate-to candidate. His rhetoric was flexible, as Fulbright tailored his messages to various audiences, presenting himself to farmers as an Ozark farmer wearing a slouch hat, an old pair of pants, and plaid shirt, pictured checking for grubs on his cattle in the *Victory News*.⁶⁸ To others he would be a successful businessman managing the Fulbright family's various enterprises such as the Coca-Cola company, the ice company, and the railroad; a prominent educator and a former university president, a competent lawyer, etc. In fact, a few years later, in 1947, Fulbright would make the following point in his speech delivered at the University of Chicago:

The ability to compromise and reconcile the differences among people is of the essence of the legislative function, whether it be in Congress or in the midst of a heated political campaign. There are no absolutes in politics and one learns this quickly in a campaign among the voters.⁶⁹

Fulbright's past achievements also played to his advantage and he made sure to publicize them as widely as possible. Many people saw him as someone who would represent Northwest Arkansas well, not just a "nice guy" for this district in Washington, but someone who would have some impact in Washington. He carried high expectations because of all that he had already accomplished while still a very young man.⁷⁰

Finally, his campaign newspaper *Victory News* was an innovative tool that helped reach virtually all voters who had a post box in the 3rd District. It contributed to creating an image of Fulbright as someone to whom the voters could relate and expanded on his platform in simple language.

Many of the issues developed in the 1942 congressional campaign provide useful insights into Fulbright's future public career and political persona. Having realized the importance

of preserving the world peace early on, Fulbright remained a staunch multilateralist throughout his whole political career in the Senate. During his congressional term he introduced legislation that came to be known as “The Fulbright Resolution,” putting the House on the record as favoring U.S. participation in what would later become the United Nations. In the Senate, Fulbright opposed President John F. Kennedy’s Bay of Pigs Invasion in 1961 and President Lyndon B. Johnson’s initiative for U.S. intervention into the 1965 Dominican Civil War. In his book *The Arrogance of Power* published in 1966 Fulbright attacked President Johnson for the Vietnam War and military intervention in Indochina. To the last days of his term in the Senate, Fulbright opposed Joseph McCarthy and the politics of the Second Red Scare, appealing to mutual understanding between the nations instead.⁷¹ As a proponent of education, Fulbright established the international exchange program that came to be known as the Fulbright fellowships for international study. Since its inception in 1946, the program has given more than 310,000 grantees from 155 countries a chance to study, teach and conduct research in the U.S. and abroad.⁷²

As Fulbright would later recount about the 1942 campaign, “We had a vigorous race and I won it.”⁷³ Indeed, he won. Fulbright also won several senatorial campaigns throughout his political career, as well as trust and respect of many people in the U.S. and abroad, leaving a lasting legacy.⁷⁴

End Notes

1. Karl E. Meyer, *Fulbright of Arkansas: The Public Positions of a Private Thinker* (Washington, D.C.: Robert B. Luce Inc.), xxiii.
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EDITOR'S NOTE: The following report appeared in the January 28, 1869, issue of the Morning Republican of Little Rock.

Trouble in Washington County.

We are pained to learn of a serious difficulty having occurred in Evansville, Washington county, on Sunday last, by which a number of citizens in that county met with death. The news of the affray was given us by Capt. Anderson, Sheriff of Crawford county, who arrived in the city last night per steamer Economist.

The difficulty originated in a personal feud, and two union men named Wm. Rose and Dr. McKinney were killed by two desperadoes named Fisher. This so exasperated the loyal citizens that they rallied for the purpose of punishing the murderers, and the difficulty soon assumed more of a political than a personal character. The two parties gathered their strength and the battle opened. A number were killed on both sides. On the union side we can only give two additional names, John Alberty and Samuel B. Shannon. On the rebel side, the two Fishers were among the dead.

The excitement, the Captain informs us, was at fever heat when he left, and we await further news from that quarter with feelings of dread that the more serious part of the occurrence has not yet reached us.

Call for Submissions: Seventh Annual Prize

The Washington County Historical Society announces the seventh annual competition for the Walter J. Lemke Prize and the Lessie Stringfellow Reid Prize with a call for articles. Anyone interested in Washington County history, whether a professional or amateur historian, is encouraged to enter. Topics can be on any phase of Washington County's history or archeology, deal with an individual or institution connected with the county, and can address any time period.

A \$250 prize is offered in each of two categories: the Walter J. Lemke Prize for best article about Washington County history with preference given for subjects outside of Fayetteville; and the Lessie Stringfellow Read Prize for best article about Fayetteville. Winners will be recognized at the society's annual meeting.

Manuscripts will be judged on their contribution to the expansion of the county's history; the originality of the subject; and, the use of primary and secondary sources. The manuscripts must be original material, and must not have been previously published; no more than 40 pages, typed, and double-spaced with endnotes included on separate, double-spaced pages, although they do not count toward the 40-page limit. The title page should contain the heading "WCHS PRIZE," the full title of the manuscript, the author's name, mailing address, telephone number, and e-mail address.

Entries become the property of the Washington County Historical Society and will not be returned to the author. All submissions will be considered for publication in *Flashback*. The historical society reserves the right to award one or no prizes.

Copies of all entries in the Lemke Prize will be deposited with the Special Collections Department at the University of Arkansas Libraries. Entries may be mailed to Lemke Prize, Washington County Historical Society, 118 E. Dickson Street, Fayetteville, AR 72701, or e-mailed to charlie.alison@gmail.com by June 30, 2014.

For additional information on the prizes, please contact Charlie Alison at the above mailing address, at 575-6731 or at charlie.alison@gmail.com.

The Razorback in Arkansas Culture and History

EDITOR'S NOTE: Research for this article was produced as part of a lecture at the Old State House Museum in 2011. A modified version of the article also appeared in Arkansas, the magazine of the Arkansas Alumni Association.

By Charlie Alison

There is not a closer association between a fabled beast and a mythic people in the whole of America than between the wild razorback hog and its Arkansawyers. The razorback is the only animal that plays so well into the Arkansaw stereotypes, both those cherished by Arkansawyers about themselves and those meant as derogatory quips by people from beyond the borders of Arkansas. On the positive side, the Arkansas razorback is cast as self-sufficient, clever, quick of foot, fierce when backed into a corner, and deeper in American pedigree than the Mayflower pilgrims. Its less savory qualities, so to speak, are that it has a voracious, unquenchable appetite, it steals the crops out from under its neighbors, and it is lazy. These are the qualities that surrounded the razorback and its Arkansawyers at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, but they were not always thus.

The word "razorback" did not start out as a conjoined suffix to "Arkansas" much less as a reference to hogs. During the early 19th century, the term was used almost exclusively for the razorback whale, *Balænoptera physalus*, better known as the finback or rorqual whale. Later the term began to be applied to any animal with a pronounced spine, such as gaunt horses and bowed-up bovine. Meanwhile, during the early part of the 19th century, feral hogs of the South were more often referred

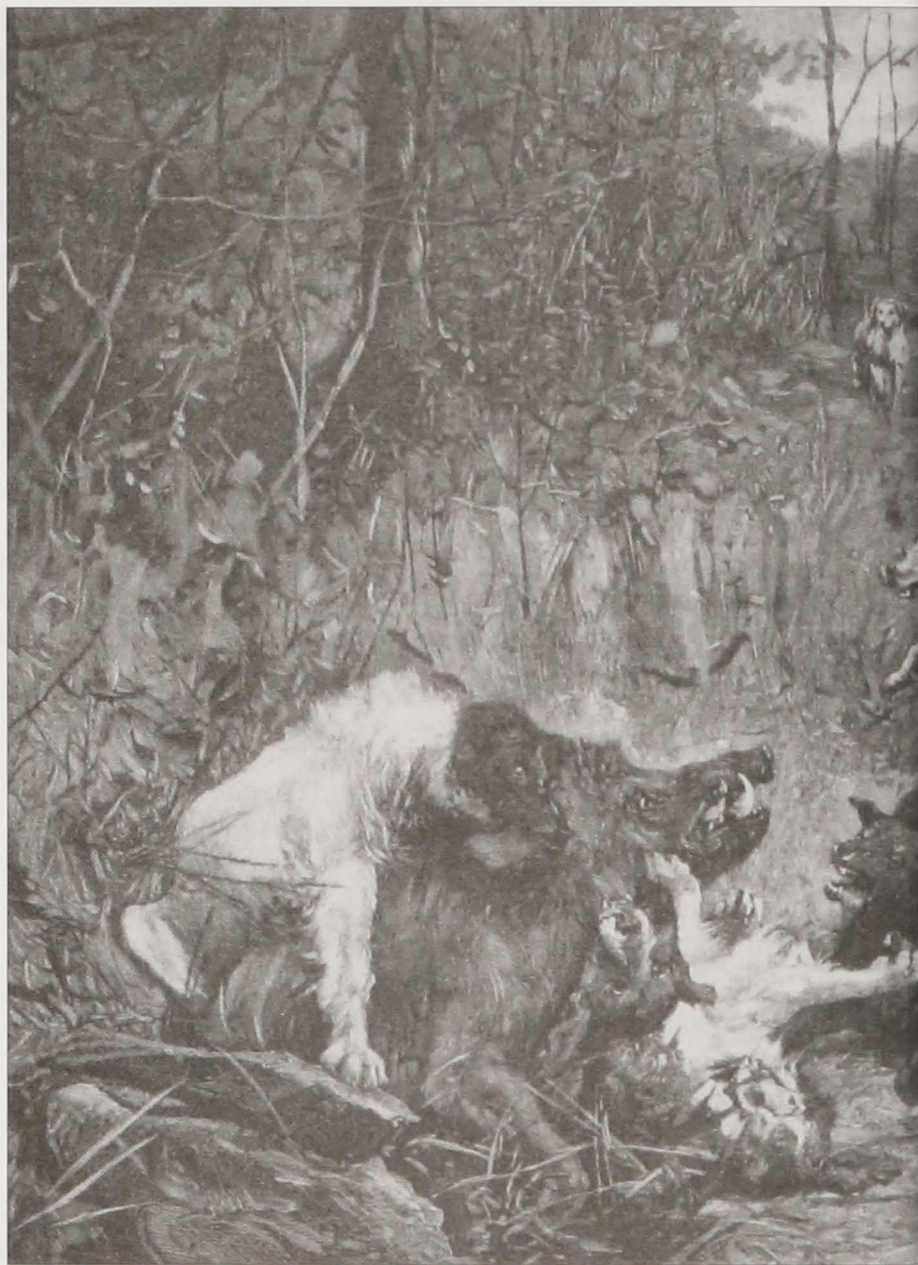
to as "alligators," "tonawandas," "land sharks," or "land pikes."¹ The earliest known reference to the feral hog as a "razorback" came in 1843: A correspondent to *The American Agriculturist* reported his success at using beets as feed stock for his breeding sows and store hogs, but he warned that "a Berkshire will get fat where a razor-back would starve."² The correspondent made no attempt to explain what he meant by the word "razor-back"; he clearly thought that "razor-back" would be widely understood by the reading audience and that readers would also understand that razorbacks do not gain weight easily.

The early reference, and most references to razorbacks through the 1870s, did not single out Arkansas for identification with the wild hog. Rather, the term was used for feral hogs throughout the southern United States, from Florida to Texas and at least as far north as Tennessee and Kentucky.

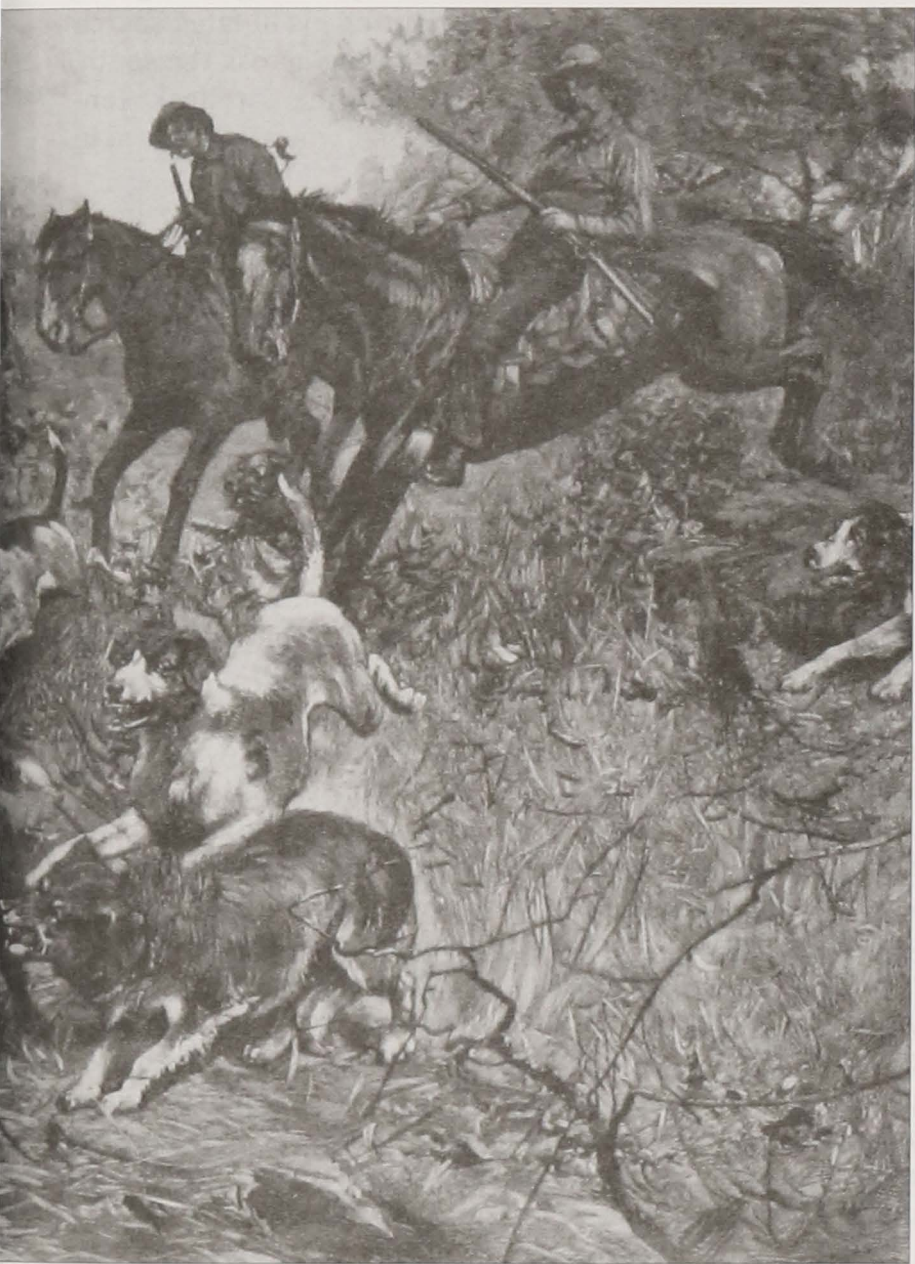
When the Writers Program of the Works Progress Administration put together a book about Arkansas during the Depression, one of the writers offered an explanation for how "razor-back" came to refer to hogs:

Like all true folk-myths, the razorback stories have an unknown origin. Assume that someone commented on a temporary scarcity of acorns and the consequent thinness of his hogs. A second man would agree, saying that his sows were able for the first time to squeeze through the garden gate. A third would testify that he could now hang his hat on the hips of his hogs. The next would aver that his swine had to stand up twice in order to cast a shadow. One man was almost bound to swear that his hogs were so desperately starved he could clasp one like a straight razor and shave with the bony ridge of its back.³

This supposition, although it might not be too far off the mark, does little to suggest why the razorback ended up tied to Arkansas. Folklore across the South maintained that the wood-



"Hunting wild hogs in Arkansas," a lithograph in Harper's Weekly, taken from



Courtesy of Charlie Alison

a drawing by Gilbert Galt.

land razorback was the descendant of European hogs brought to North America by Hernando de Soto during his ill-fated search for gold, starting in Florida and meandering across the south, through the present-day states of Georgia, the Carolinas, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi and Arkansas, where he arrived in the spring of 1541.

Bob Lancaster turned a skeptical eye toward this claim in 1986 and searched through the reports from DeSoto's expedition. Lancaster noted that reputable historians had discounted the story of hogs, primarily by ignoring it, but he concluded that the reports indicated that European pigs occasionally had indeed escaped the large drove of hogs herded by DeSoto's soldiers to Arkansas and that those hogs then procreated. One report from their return trip indicated that DeSoto's men came across an escaped sow that had recently dropped a litter of thirteen pigs. "So there it is," Lancaster wrote. "If the cavaliers had backtracked more often, they undoubtedly would have found this scene repeated many times — ancestors of the razorback scattered throughout the South, with no natural enemies to speak of and no shortage of acorns — with nothing finally to check their proliferation and prosperity until the vast land-clearing and extensive hunting of the modern age."⁴

To be fair, John Gould Fletcher mentions DeSoto's hogs in his history, *Arkansas*, describing the winter when the expedition bogged down in Arkansas: "Here they eked out their lives on the corn, beans, pecans, and dried persimmons provided unwillingly by the Indians — a diet varied mainly by rabbits, which the savages had taught the Spaniards to catch in snares. Their numbers were much reduced — about three hundred and forty Spaniards and a pitiful lot of some forty unshod, scarecrow horses alone remaining. At this time, or perhaps earlier, their drove of hogs took to the woods — to provide respectable ancestry for the Arkansas razorback of later years."⁵

The truth of whether the razorback is a descendant of DeSoto's pigs is less important here than the fact that Arkansawyers enjoy the notion that these wild hogs of the woodland



Courtesy of Charlie Alison

A postcard from the early 20th century depicts a Florida razorback.

are descended from the stock of a conquistador and that their ancestral porcine progenitors had been roaming the Arkansas hinterlands some 66 years before the advent of Jamestown and nearly 80 years before the arrival of the Mayflower. It provides a sharp rebuke to New Englanders or East Coasters who want to claim that their history is somehow longer or deeper than that of Arkansas if one's rangy razorback had forebears that got to the New World prior to some Yankee's great-granpappy.

Initially, jokes about the razorback were simply a poke at the animal itself and might be as easily applied to the razorback hog of Alabama as the feral hog of Arkansas. Perhaps the simple euphony of combining the word "Arkansas" with "razorback" was enough to bring the jokes to rest on what previously had been known as the Bear State. Perhaps as the nation's population slowly shifted westward, the butt of razorback ridicule shifted with it and landed on Arkansas. By 1840, Arkansas had about 400,000 head swine, according to the U.S. Census, a relatively low number per square mile but the highest number in the country per capita. The number of swine nearly tripled by 1860,

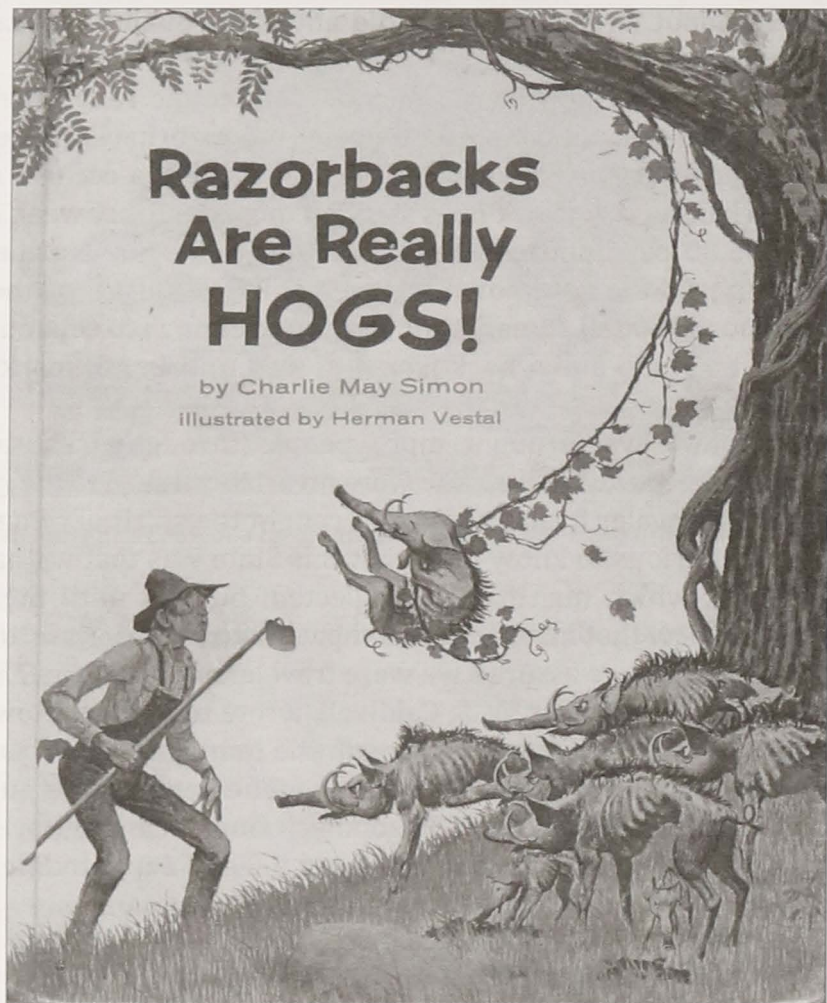
and Arkansas continued to have the highest number per capita.⁶

Early efforts to make fun of the razorback hog had no attachment to Arkansas, but rather were simply poking fun at a funny animal. Boyce House, a Texan, told the tall tale of a razorback hog that “ate a stick of dynamite, blew up, broke all the windows in the house, wrecked the barn, killed two mules, and was a mighty sick hog.”⁷ Another writer endeavored to give a pseudo-scientific description of the animal:

Arkansas has a greater variety of hogs and less pork and lard than any State in the Union. An average hog in Arkansas weighs about fourteen pounds dressed with its head on and about six pounds and a half with its head off. It can outrun a greyhound, jump a rail fence, climb like a parrot and live on grass, roots and rabbit tracks. It hasn't much tail nor bristle, but plenty of gall. It will lick a wolf or bear in a fair fight. ... It can drink milk out of a quart jar on account of its long, thin head. This type of razorback is known as the stone hog, because its head is so heavy and its nose so long that it balances up behind. The owner of this type of hogs usually ties a stone to its tail to keep it from overbalancing and breaking its neck while running.⁸

Writer Charlie May Simon, perhaps, boiled the descriptions down to their essence when she wrote a children's book in which razorbacks were the antagonists:

“Many a man would rather see a panther or a wild-cat hanging around his farm than a herd of Arkansas razorback hogs. Lean, lanky, and hungry all the time, they could outeat any animal that ever lived, and they still didn't weigh enough to leave their footprints where they walked. Their snouts were as long as walking sticks, and their backs as sharp as razors. They were so thin it took two of them standing together to



Herman Vestal drew the cover of "Razorbacks Are Really Hogs!" a children's book by Charlie May Simon.

cast a shadow. If one was by himself, he'd have to stand up twice."⁹

Any animal or person compared unfavorably to a razorback was in a sad state of affairs. On the eastern seaboard, the razor-

back hog was often referred to as a “Carolina racehorse,” which said less about feral pigs than it did about the quality of racehorses in the Carolinas.¹⁰

Even when writers were not intending comic relief, their stories could give way to stereotypes of the razorback: “Breed is not everything, as is evidenced by the fact that a carload of fatted Arkansas razorback hogs sold in Chicago the last week in July at \$5.80 per hundredweight. Whether the feeder finished them at a profit is not known.”¹¹ The razorback must be either too rawboned to sell at market or if fattened enough to sell must have cost a rump and a hock worth of feed to bring to market condition.

As train travel brought more people through Arkansas, though, descriptions of the state were invariably linked to the razorback. A traveler from Kansas City caught the spirit of things: “We were curious to know just what this State was that we had reached, ... which man had so neglected; but not until there loomed in view that historical animal [sic] with its long nose and razor back were we assured we were travelers in Arkansas.”¹²

Another traveler, Dr. W. S. Caldwell, wrote to his hometown newspaper about his journey through the “Land of Cotton” and his first encounter with a razorback hog. The newspaper’s sub-head tells most of the story: “‘Razor-Back Hogs’ seem to Have a Monopoly on the Ambition in Arkansas —The People Indolent and Shiftless.” Caldwell wrote:

“Early in the forenoon we reached Little Rock where I saw the first razor-backed Arkansas hog, who roamed the street at his own free will and seemed to have the same rights upon the sidewalks as his two-legged companions. ... The only living being that I saw all day that seemed to have a move on him was this razor-back hog. He rooted in the ground with an energy that showed that his environments had not paralyzed his energies and made him the lazy shiftless being that his two legged fellow citizen seemed to be.”¹³



Public Domain

An early depiction of a razorback published in the *Texas Daily Siftings*.

Another writer left no ambiguity about the state of affairs in Arkansas:

"A gentleman was traveling through Arkansas, and the country through which the train was running was the most uninviting imaginable. They stopped at a station where half a dozen houses made up a settlement, which, for desolation, was without parallel. The houses were tumble-down affairs, with the clapboards hanging loose in a dispirited sort of way. A few scrawny looking children played around in the mud, while half a dozen hogs of the 'razor back' description rooted around in a sea of mud.

'What place is this?' asked one passenger of another.

Before the other had time to reply the brakeman thrust his head into the car and yelled out: 'Sweet Home.' The effect on the passengers was a puzzle, for the title was so inappropriate that everyone had to smile."¹⁴

By the end of the 19th century, the razorback was no longer the butt of the joke but often the measure of disdain for others. A newspaper editor in Sandia, Kansas, for instance, looked for every measure of condescension he could find to describe a rival editor at the *Junction City Sentinel*:

"For over two long years he has been like a festering sore, a leech, a vampire or fungus, absorbing life blood from the body politic, giving no good in return but acting as a poison ivy vine upon the tree supporting it. ... He endeavors to pay his bills about as much as the devil works to save lost souls. He is absolutely without good principles. He does not look men in the face but hangs his head like a brute. His heart is as black with gratitude as the heart of a Spaniard. ... His mind is as pure and his brain of the quality of a putrescent cabbage. ... If he had been created a dog he would be a cowardly, sneaking, snapping yellow cur with his tail between his legs. If he had been created a hog he would be an Arkansas razorback."¹⁵

The low point may have come in the 1890s when members of the Georgia bar began using the term "razor-back" derogatorily to refer to colleagues "who make a living by inciting actions of tort growing out of personal injuries, especially against larger corporations." Today, they might be referred to as ambulance-chasers, but in 1894, W.L. Granberry wrote of these razor-back lawyers: "The name at once commends itself, because of its fitness, in describing the class of practice-hunting lawyers. Their energy, their hunger never satisfied, their disregard for the rights of others, are well typified in the family 'razor-back,' which no fence ever turned and no corn-field every fattened."¹⁶

Lawyers indeed.

During the first decade of the 20th century, the jokes deriding Arkansas and razorbacks were about to come to an end. Like other minority populations that become saddled with an offen-

sive, derogatory term, Arkansawyers took hold of the “razorback” sobriquet and didn’t let go. They embraced the razorback and made it their own, starting with students at the University of Arkansas.

The first university mascot, the Cardinal, was adopted during the late 1890s and lasted into the next decade, but it had been chosen partly by default. When students chose the school colors in 1895, they voted for cardinal. The other option was heliotrope, so cardinal was perhaps a forgone conclusion. Athletic teams were just then being organized, and so the Cardinal was a natural choice for the team’s mascot. Likewise, the yearbook, which began publication in 1897, was also titled the *Cardinal*.

The Cardinal mascot lasted until 1909. In that year, the University of Arkansas football team went undefeated, led by the university’s first full-time coach, Hugo Bezdek. The team thrashed regional powerhouses such as the University of Oklahoma and Louisiana State University. Half-way through the season, the University of Mississippi team was so cowed that they sent a telegram to Bezdek to say they would forfeit their game rather than come to Fayetteville as planned. “As planned” would have meant a drubbing for Ole Miss.

According to popular legend, after the late-season game with LSU, coach Bezdek told a crowd of fans and supporters that his boys had played “like a wild band of razorback hogs.” The crowd liked the sound of that and understood the inherent traits of the razorback: lean, fast, ferocious; so, soon the razorback was the newly adopted mascot, so the legend goes.

Truth be told, though, the team was referred to as the “razorbacks” in print as early as 1902, a half dozen years before Bezdek came to coach at Arkansas. The *Dallas Morning News* published a cheer written for Texas & Pacific University and specifically aimed at Arkansas for their game at Dallas in 1902: “Razor-back/You go back/To Rack-en-sack/Poor Arkansaw.” Newspapers in Fayetteville, Little Rock, Dallas, Kansas City and Lawrence, Kansas, referred to the Arkansas team as “razorbacks” prior to the 1909 season, although they were likely using

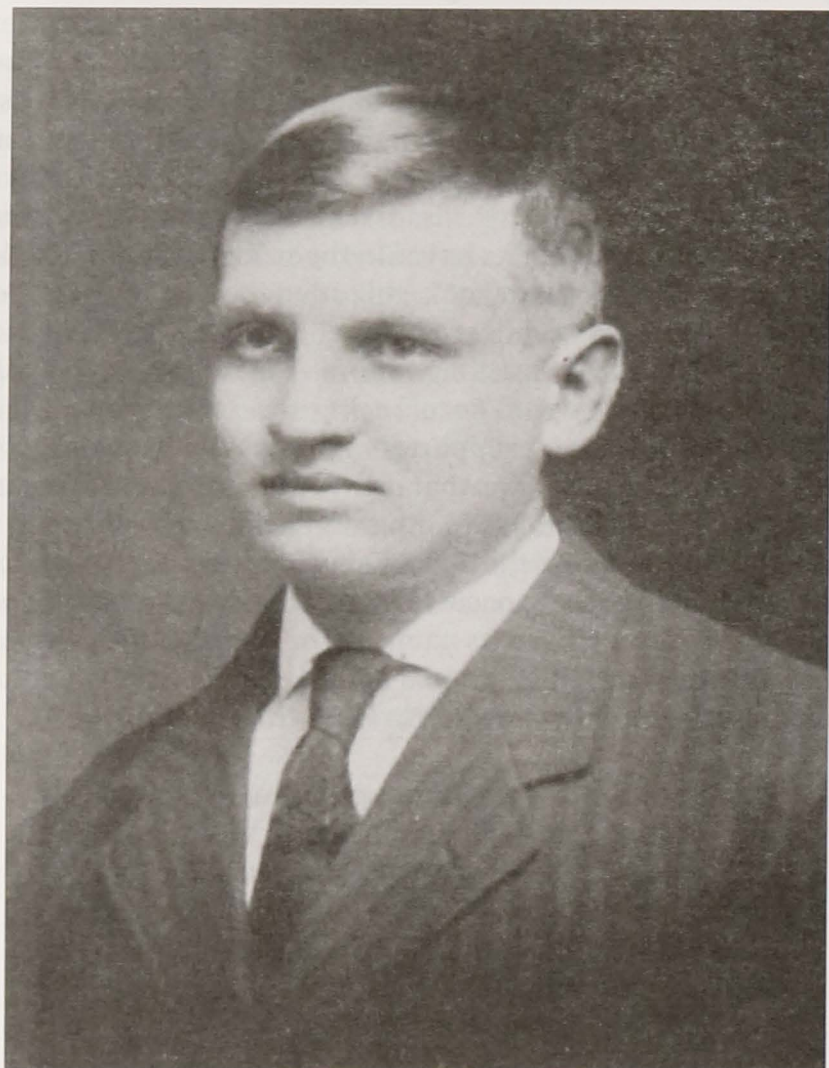


Courtesy of the Razorback Yearbook

The Arkansas baseball team added a white razorback upon a black diamond to their uniforms not long after Arkansas switched mascots from the Cardinals to the Razorbacks.

that word not so much for the team as for Arkansans in general, and they frequently referred to the team as “razorbacks” in stories and headlines throughout the 1909 season, well before the LSU game.¹⁷

Likewise, one of the players from the storied 1909 team, Phil Huntley, arrived at the university prior to Bezdek. Talking to a sports writer many years later, he recalled that he and the team, his fellow Arkansas travelers, had taken a slow train through Texas to play a game prior to the 1909 season. After arriving in Dallas, they got off to stretch their legs. Huntley recalled: “Somebody said, ‘Here come those razorbacks.’ See there were a lot of jokes about Arkansas back then.”¹⁸



Courtesy of the Razorback Yearbook

Coach Hugo Bezdek

In other words, the nickname preceded the mascot by quite a few years.

No doubt, though, that Bezdek is the person who popularized the term. One might excuse Arkansawyers from extolling the

legend about Bezdek while ignoring the earlier version, which in essence laid the naming of the razorbacks at the feet of a Texan, of all people. Regardless, students and athletes alike, rather than take offense at the reference, adopted the new mascot as a badge of honor. By 1910 the athletic teams had made the transition from the *Cardinal* to the *Razorback*, and by 1913 Edwin Douglass had written the words for a new fight song that included “razorback” as part of its lyrics. In the school year of 1915-16, editors of the student yearbook, still titled the *Cardinal*, decided to change its name to reflect the ascendancy of the *Razorback* as mascot. One of the assistant editors at the time, Jim Trimble, recalled that the change to *Razorback* created a furor on campus between detractors and supporters.¹⁹ Opposition was rooted in the derogatory associations that many Arkansans held for being called “razorbacks,” similar to other university annuals, such as the Minnesota Gopher, the Texas Longhorn and the Oklahoma Sooner. A similar debate occurred when the student newspaper at the university changed its name to *The Arkansas Traveler*, another phrase of mixed emotional appeal, but the student editor wrote in defense of the name *Arkansas Traveler*:

“The present name, although almost unanimously selected by the students in the name contest has been criticized by students, faculty members and by town people.

“It is not difficult to understand why some should see disgrace written in the name made famous by Opie Reed and why others should object so strongly to a reminiscent of frontier days. The students are urged to get away from the idea that razorbacks and travelers are worthy of the dignity attached to their name. The ridiculous application of rural wit to the name of a great state has been discontinued, almost forgotten and only serves to remind people of the unscholarly attainments of previous generations. ...

“The citizens of Arkansas have no cause to be hu-

miliated when the name Arkansas Traveler is mentioned in their presence.”²⁰

As if to make the point, students in 1936 went scouring the countryside to find a live razorback pig to bring to one of the football games. A similar effort had been made a half dozen years earlier to find a live razorback as a “gift” for Wear Schoonover, the first student to letter in four sports in the same year, but the students had to import a feral hog from Louisiana. In 1936, though, a hog was found in Arkansas and shipped by rail to Fayetteville in time for the game. The students christened the Arkansas razorback with the name “Traveler” and the student newspaper reported the details:

“Traveler” came from John Clark Riley’s grandfather’s farm, where he had 1,500 of them running wild in a stretch of woods 30 miles long in southeast Arkansas.

Staff members send a wire to the Hamburg farm and get a reply: “TOO LATE TO GET HOG STOP SORRY.” It’s signed “Shorty.”

Riley phones Shorty, who turns out to be the foreman of the farm, and convinces him to capture one of the hogs and ship it to Fayetteville. Shorty explains why that will be difficult: “These Razorbacks just roam wild, you know, and they’re kind of hard to get to. You’ve got to lasso ’em from a horse. But we got plenty — once we shipped out 27 carloads at a time.”²¹

Even as the “rural wit” declined, the number of real razorback hogs, and domestic hogs in general, dwindled in the woodlands of Arkansas and the farms of the South during the first half of the 20th century. In 1967, free-ranging hogs were banned from the national forests, and by the 1970s, domestic hog production in Arkansas had fallen back to what it had been in 1840.

Throughout the early 20th century, Arkansas writers repeat-

edly reported that the real live razorback was extinct:

Outside the imagination, a true razorback probably does not exist. There is no flesh-and-blood counterpart of the little bristle-backed emblem of the University of Arkansas football team, and a State official once vainly offered a reward for a genuine razorback, dead or alive. It has been said by some historians that De Soto's men brought hogs with them when they crossed the Mississippi into Arkansas. Some of these animals strayed into the woods and became gaunt, savage beasts living on mast. That was a long time ago, however, and the truly wild breed, if there ever was one, has forever disappeared.²²

And so had jokes about razorbacks. The evolution of the lowercase razorback into capital "R" Razorback was complete by 1964. Like Circe, Frank Broyles turned nearly every Arkansas man, woman and child into a razorback when his team went un-



Courtesy of Charlie Alison

"Circe and Her Swine," by Briton Rivière, 1892.

defeated and claimed the national championship, regardless of whether the Associated Press had enough respect for Arkansas to give it the title. Within a decade, the Razorback was celebrated across the state in all manner of form, from hog hats to license plates, from high art to bobbles and trinkets, from hundreds of porcine-named restaurants to millions of T-shirts.



Public Domain

A 19th century drawing took a more enlightened view of swine.

By the 1970s, only one class of Arkansans still found stigma attached to the Razorback: university professors. The annual crusades of the athletics department overshadowed the university's academic peregrinations during the next 30 years. On the field, the teams were watched breathlessly by Arkansawyers during winning seasons. Losing seasons were nearly worse with fans fretting over the one uniting force within the state. Professors scoffed at the state of Arkansawyers, who would pay dearly for tickets to a Razorback game but fail to put so little hard-earned cash toward the tuition of their children or such nominal tax revenue toward state appropriations for higher education. One professor published a chapbook in 1990, decrying the condition and describing it as the religion of "Razorbackism," with its own rituals, dogma, tithing, pilgrimages and an enormous temple of worship: "There can be no doubt that Razorbackism is Arkansas' official religion. The object of adoration for this statewide cult phenomenon is the semi-professional football empire located on the campus of the University of Arkansas at Fayetteville."²⁴

In the late 1990s, the rise of academic standards, the recognition of the faculty's research and a successful fundraising campaign for the academic side of the campus seemed to start a shift in this attitude among professors. If not particularly enthralled by the high value that many people place on the athletic teams, the faculty members felt their own measure of respect.

Daniel Levine, a professor of classical studies at the University of Arkansas, might fall into that camp. His courses in Greek and Latin harken to the university's earliest academic offerings, which included coursework in Cicero's orations and Xenophon's *Anabasis*, both for freshmen during the university's first year of operation. His honors students annually print Razorbacchanalia T-shirts to celebrate their classical roots. Levine seemed to make his peace with the Razorback when he realized that you could drop the first two letters and last two letters of "razorback" and end up with "Zorba," the spirited, mysterious title character of *Zorba the Greek* who leads the bookish intellectual Piraeus away

from his books and into a new appreciation for the joy of experiencing life rather than reading about it.²⁵

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EDITOR'S NOTE: The paragraph below was reprinted Nov. 12, 1880, by the Daily Arkansas Gazette from the Fayetteville Democrat. The town of Seligman mentioned is just north of the state line in Missouri. State officials who attended celebrations the following summer reported traveling from Little Rock to Northwest Arkansas via St. Louis in a time 9 hours faster than taking a train to Alma and riding stages over the Boston Mountains.

STATE NEWS.

The cars are now running to Seligman, and it will not be long before the Iron horse travels over Arkansas territory. In two weeks the track as far as Avoca will be ready for the Iron. The road has been graded from the Benton county line to one mile this side of Springdale, six miles, and one week ago Contractor Scott's force established headquarters at the Vernon spring, six miles from Fayetteville. Unless the weather prevents, the road will be graded to Fayetteville by the 1st of January.

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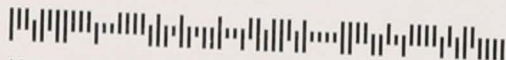
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